CHARLES WOODRUFF SHIELDS.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY

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CHARLES WOODRUFF SHIELDS.

I.

THE ideals of youth are seldom realized, and yet some men see the fruit of their labors, being so blessed that after a long and laborious life, they die as young in feeling and in enterprise as they were in early youth. In his eightieth year Charles Woodruff Shields was as much himself, as fully in possession of all his fine powers and qualities as he had been in the prime of his years. It was therefore with a sense of fulfilment that he left in the hands of a friend certain manuscripts for posthumous publication as the completion of his life work. His choice fell upon one who is a layman to both lines of the study which so engrossed the author, a fact interpreted as meaning that the editor was to confine himself strictly to the task of verbal correction, and to avoid all effort at revision or rearrangement of the matter. This is the more evident as most of the philosophical and apologetic material had already been printed in one form or another, and had had the careful revision of the author. What follows as the last division of the "Final Philosophy" is therefore given exactly at it was intended to stand, and in connection with the two preceding volumes needs no introduction.

II.

The author of these chapters was fully aware of the position he had taken and of all the responsibilities incident to the selection of a title which was almost a challenge: though personally one of the most modest of men, he was fearless to a fault in the exposition and defence of the truth

as he saw it. He was convinced that all the sciences could be united into one Christian philosophy, and that all denominations of Christian believers could be united into one visible church of Christ. In no sense did he conceive that the "final" word in philosophy was to be spoken by him, but he did believe and was not ashamed to declare that these exalted ideals would never approach realization unless the plan were outlined and fruitful suggestions were made towards its accomplishment. This he essayed to do and in the effort he deployed extraordinary powers of research and of assimilation. This was not all, for as it stands the "Final Philosophy" is far more than a suggestion, it is a system more or less complete of Cosmic philosophy, based on a synthesis of all the empirical sciences in their natural order of an ascent which culminates in theology, or rather in a theistic ontology derived from Revelation as a valid source of data.

In the same way the author of the "United Church of the United States" (1896) suggested with the strength of a firm conviction and the force of a historical expert that practical Church unity was within reach if only a beginning were discussed and made. For him the most striking phenomenon of contemporary history was the elasticity of the federal system in politics, a system which in his own country comprehended in a roomy edifice men of every land and tongue, of every tradition and practice, provided only they were devoted to the essential idea of liberty under law. He could see no good reason why in some similar way men of a common faith should not, under an elastic constitution, mass their forces against the forces of infidelity and worldliness. The question of church unity was for him an eminently practical one, to be solved in a churchmanlike and politic way. Assiduous in his study of the historic forces which had rent the reformed churches into denominations, he proposed a method of reintegration which was based on the most sacred convictions of believers and on the lessons of the past.

III.

The personality of Dr. Shields was as engaging as his mind. He was elegant and urbane, sensitive and fascinating, a man of refinement and culture, with all the charm of manner which springs from self-respect and consideration for others. His company was eagerly sought by the best society and his conversation was stimulating and refreshing. He loved the atmosphere of quiet studies, but he was happy in the world and sensitive to its charms. No man could be more ardent and industrious in the pursuit of knowledge, nor more contemplative in its interpretation; yet he had abundant leisure for friendship and the duties of his home. His love for his university was a passion, and he served her with a devotion which ennobled her life and his own. In his veins ran the blood of old colonial stock, north and south, his view of his country was correspondingly catholic and patriotic.

The endearing qualities of the man were as marked as the wide range of his learning. Constructive scholarship is not always gentle, far from it, and it is interesting to trace the origin and evolution of the man who is both a gentle man and a learned man. This combination was the preëminent characteristic of Dr. Shields: it was due partly to heredity and partly to a broad and varied training.

Mere pride of birth is vanity. The world is full of men and women whose personal insignificance is only heightened by the achievements of the ancestors from whom they claim descent. But on the other hand, there are many who are stimulated to great energy by the knowledge that there courses in their veins the blood of men who have lived on a high plane and who have achieved something for God and fatherland. Among the notes of Dr. Shields, written late in life and evidently as a pastime, are some remarks on the subject which are of much interest in explaining the character of the man. I like, he said, to discern the honorable ancestry of a friend in his character and in his countenance.

For myself, however, I must be content with a modest pedigree which is good enough as far as it has been traced. If it can boast of no crowns or coronets among its crests, yet it shows no blot or bar sinister upon its shields. The name itself may hint of the knightly esquire of heraldry (scutum, écuyer); and in fact both the Scottish and the English branches of the family have borne, with differences, the device of three shields upon their escutcheon. The surname has even been traced far back among northern myths to Scyld or Schild, father of the demigod Odin, the founder of both the Norman and the Saxon dynasties of southern Europe. As these two lineages became blended after the Conquest, it would be easier to claim them both than to choose between them.

In later times, he continues, the family was lowland Scotch or northern English by turns, as the border line shifted during the wars of the two kingdoms. The place name is still found on both sides of the Tweed, as borne by hall or hamlet at Shieldfield and Galashields near Melrose Abbey and by the two seaport towns, North Shields and South Shields, on the site of old Norman and Roman ruins on both sides of the Tyne. To myself I seem to have lived mentally in borderland, and if subconscious effects of ancestry may assert themselves in one's tastes, I like to look back for a historical beginning to that romantic region so celebrated in the Border Minstrelsy and so hallowed in the more heroic annals of the Border Covenanters. The ballad of Chevy Chase is attributed by antiquarians to "one Rychard Sheale, minstrel"; and in another old ballad the name appears among the Scots with whom the Englishman was at feud—

"And Anton Shiel, he loves not me."

When the feuds became religious as many as eighteen of the name were ranked with the Presbyterian martyrs. Chief among them was James Shields, a bonnet laird of Haugh Head, in Lauderdale, whose two sons, Michael Shields and Alexander, wielded their pens vigorously enough for Christ's

Crown and Covenant. Michael was clerk of the Societies, as the outlawed Covenanters were called, with Sir Robert Hamilton for their chief, and afterwards published their proceedings in a volume with the quaint title "Faithful Contendings Displayed," from which the philosopher Sir William Hamilton has since derived proof of his claim to the baronetcy. The other son, Reverend Alexander Shields, had a most eventful career. Graduating from Edinburgh University in 1675, he pursued his studies in Holland, returned to England, was ordained by the Presbytery of London and became amanuensis to the great non-conformist divine John Owen. During the persecutions of James II he was taken to Edinburgh, subjected to torture at the Tolbooth and cast into the dismal prison of the Bass Rock, from which he escaped in woman's clothing. He then succeeded the martyred Renwick as preacher to the hunted bands of worshippers on the moors and mountains, and issued for them their "Informatory Vindication," published in Holland; at the same time publishing his own chief treatise: "Naphtali, The Hind Let Loose, or An Historical Representation of the Church of Scotland for the Interest of Christ." On the coming of William of Orange he espoused the "revolution settlement," and was made chaplain of the famous Cameronian regiment, exhorting them to the desperate battle at Dunkeld, which ended in a psalm of victory. After serving for ten years as minister at St. Andrew's he was appointed by the General Assembly senior minister to the ill-fated Darien expedition, and after severe hardships and disappointments died on the homeward voyage in the island of Jamaica. "It is not easy to conceive," says Macaulay, "that fanaticism could be heated to a higher temperature than that which is indicated by the writings of Shields. Yet there was then in Scotland an enthusiasm compared with which the enthusiasm of even this man was lukewarm. The extreme Covenanters protested against his defection as vehemently as he had protested against the Black Indulgence and the oath of supremacy." It should be added, however, that he afterward

showed the same moderated enthusiasm as a zealous advocate of church unity in his final work entitled "An Inquiry into Church Communion."

The writer of these notes firmly believed that genealogy was an important part of history. It is very interesting to see how much the inspiration of what men of his name and his blood had done affected his own life work. The borderland and marches of science, literature, and philosophy were the scenes of his labors as those of conterminous kingdoms had been the scenes in which his forbears had fought and suffered and died for the same lofty ideals which were the mainspring of his own life: ideals expressed in the nineteenth century by the unity of all learning and the unity of the whole visible Christian church.

The remaining portions of these genealogical notes are scarcely less interesting, although they are historical as well as personal and genealogical. They are given without comment or revision because they need neither.

IV.

In the colony of Virginia since the close of the seventeenth century, there have been three distinct settlements of the Shields family. They were successfully planted in eastern Virginia, in the valley of Virginia, and in midland Virginia, and may be located by the unquestioned authority of Henning in the counties of York, Augusta, and Halifax. The name also appears on the map of Virginia as a place name in each of these districts.

The first settlement was made probably by direct migration from England to the banks of the James River. This branch of the family is mentioned occasionally by Bishop Meade and its genealogy has been sketched by President Lyon G. Tyler. It has intermarried with the families of Marot, Bray, Minge, Page, Armistead, Bryan, and Tyler and it became distinguished in the Reverend Samuel Shields of the colonial church, in Colonel James Shields of the

Colonial Army, in Captain John Shields of the Revolutionary Army, and more recently in Dr. William J. Shields of Williamsburg and Dr. Charles H. Shields of Richmond.

The second settlement was made by emigration from Scotland and north Ireland through Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley, where, by the liberal policy of Governor Gooch, the Scotch-Irish were then finding a refuge from religious persecution. I have been able to glean but little information in regard to this settlement. As early as 1749 Thomas Shields purchased a portion of the Beverly tract, two hundred acres in extent, for six shillings, agreeing to pay one ear of Indian corn on Lady Day next to secure possession. There is also on record an inventory made in 1750 of the estate of James Shields, full of interesting details as to the domestic life of the time and place. The will of John Shields, freeholder, is recorded in 1772, naming his wife Margaret and children John, Thomas Robert, Mary, William. It is probable that some members of this family did military duty in the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars, as the name occurs in the muster-rolls of Colonel Lewis, of Colonel Hite and of the Muhlenburg Regiment when it was engaged in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and encamped at Valley Forge. Beyond these fragmentary items, no fuller information has been obtained in regard to the Augusta County family.

Distinct from these two settlements, with no traceable connection to either of them, a third Shields settlement was made by migration into Virginia from the colonies of Delaware and Maryland, where, as appears by the public records of those States, a number of persons of the name had been settled for one or two generations. As early as 1654 the Maryland Archives mention Robert Sheels, and in 1689 Thomas Shields, and in 1694 John Shields. There are also recorded wills in Queen Anne County of Catherine Shields, 1717; and of Susanna Shields, 1735; in Talbot County of James Shields, 1759; in Somerset County of Elizabeth Shields, 1766; in Frederick County of Elizabeth

Shields, 1769, and in Newcastle County, Delaware, of Robert Shields, 1796. The Maryland muster-rolls of the Revolutionary Army contain the names of Lieutenant Archibald Shields, Lieutenant Caleb Shields, Captain John Shields, Commissary Edward Shields and Privates James, John, Patrick, and William Shields.

These persons were probably of Scottish or Irish origin and naturally Episcopalian; in connection with the established church of the colony. Of some of them but little has as yet been ascertained, but it is positively known that about the middle of the eighteenth century two brothers, Archibald and Thomas Shields, of Delaware, married two sisters, Rebecca and Anne Bayard, daughters of Samuel Bayard of Bohemia Manor, Maryland, from whom are also derived the distinguished Bayards of Delaware and New Jersey. The descendants of Archibald Shields have been widely scattered throughout the Southern States: among them is the Honorable William Bayard Shields of the United States Court, New Orleans, La., who married Victoire Benoist, daughter of a French Catholic refugee. The grandsons were Thomas Rodney Shields, William Bayard Shields, the Honorable Joseph Dunbar Shields of Natchez, Miss., and Gabriel Benoist Shields. The great-grandsons are the Reverend VanWinder Shields, D. D., Rector of St. John's Church, Jacksonville, Fla., and Dr. W. B. Shields of St. Francis, Arkansas.

The other brother, Thomas Shields, who married Anne Bayard, afterwards settled in Virginia. Among his descendants are Colonel John Shields of Poplar Vale, Va., who married Anna Jane Moncure, daughter of a certain Mr. Robinson; also Lieutenant Wilmer Shields, U. S. N., who was son of Purser Thomas Shields, and married Julia Devereux Scott. Also, Wilmer Shields, who married Eliza Runkle, daughter of Captain Thomas Conway of Pittsylvania County, Va. To these should be added James Shields, son of the first Thomas, who was born near Sassafras River in Delaware, married Elizabeth Graham of Christiana, and

migrated to Halifax, now Pittsylvania Co., Va., where his family was seated until the Revolutionary War.

At this point it will be interesting to notice the influence of environment as well as heredity, upon family character. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the community dwelling between tide-water and the mountains on the east side of the Blue Ridge was as intermediate in its characteristics as in its situation. Therein were blended the social and religious elements of the eastern and western colonists. It should be remembered that in contrast with the Puritan of New England, both the Covenanter and the Cavalier of Virginia had been Royalists, devoted to the house of Stuart, and also zealous Churchmen, the one attached to Presbytery and the other to Episcopacy. When united under William of Orange, they had settled their ecclesiastical feud by establishing the Presbyterian Church in Scotland and the Episcopal Church in England. And not long afterwards in the New World they found themselves again neighbors with only the Blue Ridge between them; but with new common interests taking the place of the old border warfare. The tolerance granted to the Presbyterian Churchmen of midland Virginia was altogether creditable to the colonial governors: it had already ample legal precedent in the mother country as well as in Virginia law, and there was really nothing now to prevent the free intercourse and fusion of the two races and creeds. The product was a type of Virginian, distinguishable alike from the luxurious planter of the lowlands and from the hardy freeholder of the uplands, yet retaining much that was best in both of these stocks without their defects and vices.

This commingling of the two strains showed itself not only in the inherited traits of individuals and families, but also in certain affinities and interchanges which have long since been forgotten or but seldom noticed. It is a remarkable fact that some great political leaders like Madison, Light-horse Harry Lee and even Randolph of Roanoke were not educated at William and Mary, but at Nassau Hall in

the school of statesmanship founded by the patriotic Witherspoon. It is a no less remarkable fact that Princeton College instead of looking to New England for Presidents such as Dickinson, Burr, and Edwards, now summoned from Virginia the eloquent Davies, who was Patrick Henry's model, the accomplished Stanhope Smith, who was President of Hampden-Sydney, and Dr. Archibald Alexander, also President of Hampden-Sydney, and founder of the Princeton School of Divinity. Thus it was that the seeds of old civilizations as transplanted to a new soil, flowered into a new form of culture as strong as it was graceful.

Besides this difference between eastern and western Virginia, there was a still further difference of social atmosphere between the northern and southern sections of midland Virginia.

It may not be easily explained, but it appeared in the impassioned genius of Patrick Henry and John Randolph as compared with the trained statesmanship of Jefferson and Madison. It appeared still more strongly in the Presbyterian College in Prince Edward as contrasted with the liberal University afterwards founded at Charlottesville. And it also appeared in the gradual decline of the Cavalier and Episcopal elements in the southern counties. It would seem that these counties, after having been devastated by two civil wars and drained of their best blood by emigration to the Western States, now retain but little of their former prestige. Bishop Meade in his day lamented the extinction of the Church throughout this region and remarked that the names of such churchmen as Madison, Henry, Read, Carington, Watkins, Venable are no longer to be found in the vestry-records of parishes though enrolled among the trustees of Hampden-Sydney College. John Randolph bitterly deplored the decay of the gentry in the county of Charlotte where he lived, attributing its degeneracy to the attacks of Jefferson upon the church establishment and the law of primogeniture. The old régime, however, still lingered some time after the Revolution. Dr. James W. Alexander depicted it as it

existed in his father's time. There is no portion of the State or country where the bright side of the planter's life is more agreeably exhibited. The district has always been remarkable for its adaptation to the culture of a particular variety of tobacco which usually commands high prices, and it has therefore abounded in slaves, although the estates are less extensive than in the cotton districts of the remote South. The proprietors enjoy the comforts and luxuries of life in a high degree, and almost every family has some man of liberal education within its bosom. Hospitality and genial warmth may be said to be universal. Nowhere in the South has the Presbyterian Church had greater strength among the wealthy and cultivated classes. Dr. William Henry Foote skilfully traces the same society to its sources and elements: "Coming from different divisions of the European stock, mingling in society on the frontiers, amalgamating by marriage, moulded by the religious teachings of Robinson and Davies, they formed a state of society and morals in which the excellencies of the original constituent parts have all been preserved. The courtly manners of Williamsburg, the cheerfulness and ease of the Huguenots, the honest frankness and stern independence of the English country gentleman, the activity and shrewdness of the merchant, the simplicity of republican life—all have been preserved."

Into this frontier region in 1757 came certain members of the Shields family of Delaware through Maryland down the Chesapeake Bay. The first of the name on record was Patrick Shields, of the County of Halifax and Colony of Virginia, planter, who for two hundred and twenty-five pounds purchased twelve hundred and sixty acres of rich tobacco-growing land on Sandy River, next to Colonel Byrd's tract, the "Land of Eden," and not far from Leatherwood, the purchase of Patrick Henry. During his lifetime he deeded portions of this land to his children Samuel, James, John, and Elizabeth Read, and by his will, September 22nd, 1770, he bequeathed his own plantation to his wife Jeane and son Joseph, together with a negro servant Phyllis

and a roan mare and colt; also 50 pounds to his son Robert, and 10 pounds to his "grandson Patrick and son of Samuel." The will is conventional in form, beginning with a confession of his Christian faith in the doctrine of the resurrection.

The next interesting record nine years afterwards is another will so much briefer that I will cite the whole of it:

In the name of God, Amen. I, James Shields, of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, being in perfect health, mind, and memory, do constitute, make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following:

And first of all my lawful debts to be paid. And to my beloved wife Elizabeth I give and bequeath her third of my estate, and to my son Patrick I give and bequeath the other third of my real and personal estate, and to Molly my daughter the other part. I also will and desire that my son Patrick over and above his share have so much to be paid from my estate as will pay his learning through the several degrees of the college: and I do hereby constitute my beloved wife my whole and sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and do hereby revoke, disallow and annul all former will or wills whatsoever, and do make and confirm this only to be my last will and testament. As witness my hand and seal this third day of August in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

And as my wife is with child if the child lives I desire that it may have its due and equal share of my estate.

James Shields (L. S.).

Teste
John Smith,
Samuel Shields,
Joshua Cantrill.

This document, brought to light after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-five years, is a remarkable confirmation of family tradition in every particular. It was evidently written somewhat hurriedly, in view of the fate which might

befall a soldier of the Revolution. One may fancy him tenderly leaving the paper with his wife, as he rode away never to return. The disastrous siege of Savannah followed on October 10th, and the will was probated December 21st, 1779. The executrix and "beloved wife Elizabeth" was the above-named Elizabeth Graham of Christiana.

In reference to the family of Elizabeth Graham some traditions may here be interesting. Her father, a Covenanter as well as a Graham, had narrowly escaped the sword thrust of another Graham before he fled to the Colonies. The story runs in the family that the dragoons of bloody Claverhouse thrust their swords into the very thicket in which he was concealed, but without discovering him. He crossed the sea in the same ship with the family into which his daughter afterwards married. The two families before their emigration, it is said, lived on opposite sides of the Irish Channel where it was so narrow that they could tell when it was washing day on the other shore by descrying the clothes hung to dry. It is also said that Graham on settling in Delaware built his house in part of bricks brought with him in the vessel and marked with his initials, and as late as 1821 Senator Tipton, a friend of the family, reported that he had seen the house and noticed the initials. Beyond such homelike traditions there are no European annals of Elizabeth's family. Her little, worn Bible which she bequeathed to the oldest son of the oldest son, because of its register showing title to Scottish properties, has come to her great-grandson, water-stained, tattered, and alas, without the register. It was accidentally dropped into a stream which was being forded by another ancestor on one of his preaching excursions. The lost pedigree might have helped to decide whether she came from the Grahams of Menteith, or of the Grahams of Montrose, who boasted of the handsome and gallant Dundee, as much praised by the Cavaliers as he was hated by the Covenanters.

But to return to the will. The unborn child proved to be another daughter. Left alone with three young children

and in charge of a plantation, Elizabeth Graham Shields married a neighboring planter, General Burnett, whose name was gratefully given to one of her grandsons, Henry Burnett Shields. Her two daughters married husbands who rose to wealth and public office in Tennessee. Her son Patrick, so thoughtfully provided for in the will, became Judge Shields of Corydon, Indiana. He was born in Pittsylvania, May 17th, 1773. His boyhood was passed in the Virginia plantation mode of life with the church and school at home and in a neighborhood then exceptionally good. Dr. Archibald Alexander thus notices it in his Journal: "Tuesday, August 7th, 1792, I preached at Sandy River. The house was very full of people who seemed desirous to hear. I don't remember that any to whom I have preached since I was on my tour were apparently more affected than these." One of these listeners may have been young Patrick, then nineteen years old. In accordance with his father's will he was educated for the law in Hampden-Sydney Academy and William and Mary College.

To his uncle's name Patrick his parents had added the name Henry in compliment to their intimate friend the patriot orator, but in after life he preferred to write his name simply "P. Shields." I have, however, official documents signed "P. Henry Shields." The boy was educated carefully, according to his father's directions. At one time William Henry Harrison, the future President, was his classmate and thus became his lifelong friend. On the sixth of December, 1798, he was married to Mary, daughter of Rev. Clement Nance, by his cousin Rev. James Read. The Nances were an old Virginia family, first seated as early as 1641 in Henrico County, from thence migrating into other counties and intermarrying through successive generations with Isham, Vaughn, Lanier, Giles, Palmer, and Pleasant. After the Revolution Clement Nance removed with his family to the Northwest Territory. It was not long before his son-in-law decided to follow him, drawn into the general westward movement.

His father's estate, which was valued at seventeen thousand pounds, having become depreciated through the failure of the Continental currency, he surrendered the home plantation to his mother and sisters and accepted as his portion two thousand six hundred and sixty acres of wild land in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky, which was then still the County or District of Virginia. About the year 1803, with his wife, two young children, and a negro servant, Sam, and doubtless other emigrating families, he made the long and difficult journey over the mountains into Kentucky. On arriving at Lexington he found that owing to the dishonesty of a business agent, made easy enough by the chaotic state of land titles at that time, he was unable to secure possession of his land and must simply begin the world anew. For a time he remained with some of his Graham connections in Mercer County, but at length he decided to join his wife's relatives beyond the Ohio River, where land was more easily obtained.

With his family, household goods, and cattle in a flatboat, he floated down the Kentucky and Ohio rivers to a point below the Falls where his relatives, having seen the boat approaching, were waiting to welcome him after the long separation with hysterical tears of joy. In the unbroken wilderness he entered a section of land; this time with no flaw upon the title. Upon my study wall now hangs the parchment deed to this tract signed by President Monroe as recorded in the general land office at Washington. Here with the aid of his servant was cleared the first patch of ground in the wilderness and the first crop of grain was raised only to be destroyed by severe frost in autumn. A local chronicler describes the cabin which he erected as much better than those of that time: "It was built almost entirely of blue ash logs and nearly full two stories in height. Shields in a short time gathered around him a settlement of some size and wielded considerable influence among the settlers." His spacious cabin being the most commodious in the neighborhood became almost a public resort, the place

where political and religious meetings were held. It was also for a time the seat of the Territorial authorities until the government was established in the neighboring village of Corydon. The building was in due time replaced by a more commodious brick building, styled by the ruder settlers—the folly of "stuck-up" Virginians.

There is no doubt that Shields was the pioneer of all that band of Virginians, a score or more of families that subsequently followed his lead and became citizens of this township. He was soon, on December 8th, 1808, commissioned by his old classmate Governor William Henry Harrison as judge of the Court of Common Pleas, the first appointment of this kind for the territory, which then included the region since divided into the States of Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. In 1811 he went to the defence of the border with General Harrison as a mounted rifleman and volunteer aide. In the battle of Tippecanoe his horse received a bullet in the head, but was not killed and was safely brought back home with him again. When Indiana became a separate territory under Governor Posey, January 7th, 1814, he was commissioned judge of the Circuit Court of Harrison County, the first president judge in that territory; and in the year 1816 he was appointed a member of the Constitutional Convention which met at Corydon for the organization of the Territory into a State.

V.

These pages were written by Dr. Shields in his seventy-ninth year and amply suffice to show that his force was not in the least abated. Their interest is far from being either personal or local, for they are a contribution to American history as showing the sources of the strength and culture characteristic of many small but vigorous communities through the central and further West. Though life was very primitive in Corydon, Indiana, the people had as their leaders men of the first importance from the viewpoint of

education, family, and energy. As the years went on and material prosperity blessed the efforts of the pioneers, they gave the same attention to their intellectual and spiritual necessities as they gave to their bodies and their estates. Churches and schools were established on firm foundations, their sons and daughters were trained in piety and patriotism. When James Read Shields, son of Patrick Henry, came to man's estate he sought and found a wife among the best and most refined families of the East. Being president of the bank of New Albany in the State of his birth, and a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church of the same town, he married Hannah Woodruff of Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

This was the fact which determined the career of the only child of the marriage, who was born on April fourth of the following year at his father's home in New Albany. The ancestors of Hannah Woodruff for four generations on both sides lie buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth. They were descendants of a well-known Yorkshire family, which emigrated to Massachusetts in 1638, went thence to Southampton, Long Island, and with a number of others removed thence to the Carteret district of New Jersey. They were a line of devout Presbyterian church folk. Mrs. Shields was trained in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord" as her parents understood it, and her well-worn books of devotion were a cherished possession of her son. She is well remembered by the present distinguished Chancellor of the State, William J. Magie, who recalls that she was a famous Bible scholar. Her pastor, the Rev. John McDowell, D. D., a Princeton graduate of 1801, and a founder of the Princeton Seminary, received into the church the grandmother of Dr. Shields and, by both baptism and confession, his mother: he likewise delivered the charge at the installation of her son as a minister, and baptized his oldest daughter.

Samuel Woodruff, one of the same family, had long since identified the family with the interests of Princeton College, an institution founded to represent the religious

culture which, by a larger catholicity, had outgrown the conservative type from which it had sprung. He was a trustee from its founding in 1749 to his death in 1768, and is the first to have remembered that institution by a bequest. He was a prosperous merchant and a pillar of the church. In the founding of the college he was, of course, intimately associated with all the leading spirits of the time and place, in particular with Boudinot, Stockton, and Belcher the governor of the province, he himself being a member of the Council. The society from which the founders of Princeton stood forth had a marked character, being both aristocratic in feeling and ecclesiastical in its standards. Dr. Shields wrote of it in this connection, as follows: "Between the extremes of Northern and Southern culture, it laid stress upon forms, and titles, and costumes, while insisting on the claims of virtue and piety. There was in it a touch of English gentility over the harshness of the Puritan, the strictness of the Covenanter, the staidness of the Hollander, the primness of the Quaker, the grace of the Huguenot, and the gayety of the Cavalier. At one time, indeed, all these elements seemed to have been fused together under the eloquence of that Presbyterian clergyman of the Church of England, George Whitefield, who was then traversing the colonies, like another Apostle to the Gentiles. The Reverend Mr. Chandler, Missionary to the little flock of St. John, wrote home to the London Society in disgust, that schism was becoming a mere "ecclesiastical scarecrow," churchmen and dissenters being so mixed up together that they would not discriminate between "Episcopal and ye leathern mitted ordination" which his neighbor, the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, had been defending in sundry learned essays. The preceding rector, good old Mr. Vaugn, had died on the same day with Dickinson, exclaiming, when told that his friend was also dying, "Oh, that I had hold of the skirts of brother Jonathan!" This passage has been quoted because, in its literal truth, the writer was holding up the mirror for himself as a sitter for his own portrait.

Dr. Shields was in a marked degree what inheritance made him, a man of exactly this social and ecclesiastical mould.

In response to a request for a few intimate details concerning the mother whose influence was almost paramount in her father's life, Mrs. Stockton, of Morven, writes:

My grandmother's marriage was looked upon by her large family connection, then living in Elizabethtown and New York, as cutting her off entirely from her family and almost from civilization, and so it was natural that my father should have been sent to her sister, Phebe (Woodruff) Rankin, in Newark, to be educated.

New Albany, where my father lived in 1837, was a very primitive place at that time; the first Presbyterian church, and the different clergymen who supplied its pulpit, were the only social interests of the town. My grandmother, although of English descent, was much more the type of a Scotch Presbyterian, and my father has often told me of the breakfasts his mother used to give to the visiting clergymen, a custom still quite common in Scotland.

She also held "parlor meetings," or ladies' prayer-meetings, at her house on Main Street, which had a beautiful garden running down to the Ohio River, "planted with borders and shrubberies," of which my grandmother took personal care.

My grandfather has left this description of her, which he wrote for his eldest granddaughter:

"She was a little below the ordinary size of women, well favored and straight in her person. Her forehead high, her features good, complexion fair, with a well-shaped nose resting between her gray or hazel eyes—her countenance on the whole was that of serenity and sense, attractive to all, being entirely destitute of that doll-faced beauty that is so prominent in the features of many women; one look at her invited a second and then a third; she was rather retiring and modest in her deportment; she rose early, delighted much in flowers, and employed her leisure

moments in reading. The Bible was her first book, then the religious books and papers of the day. She was mild and amiable in disposition, and very kind to those who came within reach of her acquaintance; very conscientious in the discharge of her duties to God and her fellow beings, benevolent to the poor and the church; cheerful, but not given to levity.

"For upwards of thirty years we lived together in peace, sharing in each other's joys and sorrows until the evening of August 21st, 1856, when she ceased to be with me."

After her death it was found that she had treasured every letter her only child had ever written her, and even those from her own people in which his name was mentioned.

In contrast to the austere life led by my grandmother in the West, I quote from a letter written at Elizabethtown in the first year of her marriage. "We have had a visit from Lafayette, and a most splendid bower was erected for his reception; I blistered my hands tying greens for it, but it paid with the honor of shaking hands with the general. Hannah! he looks very much like Mr. Nelson, on the hill, so you can fancy you have seen him; our bower, it is said, stands next to Castle Garden (the port on the battery); I was in it one evening, previous to his arrival, and it really appeared like enchantment; it is, Hannah, indescribable; I have just finished his memoirs, which have been published since his arrival here. They are very interesting."

My father was baptized by the Reverend M. R. Welles, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. His early childhood was very lonely; his mother was his only companion as well as teacher. When he was three years old, he read the first chapter of St. John's Gospel at her knee. He had many salutary lessons from her. As he has somewhere written he began during this time to write a journal of resolutions and penitential confessions, such as he had read in the memoirs of some precocious young saint of the day. But his wise mother, pointing out its marks of conceit and vanity, promptly suppressed the effusion. These lonely days play-

ing by her side in the sunny garden readily account for his shyness and reserve. He had no playmates until he went to school in Newark in 1837.

In 1839 he and two of his schoolmates owned a small printing press, and for a few months "The Aurora," a monthly paper, Printed, Published and Edited by Shields, Butler & Co., was the fruit of their leisure hours. This child's paper was largely subscribed for by "The Aunts" living in the East, and its poetical effusions were contributed by the *young ladies* of the neighborhood.

My father's maternal grandmother, Mary (Mulford) Woodruff, daughter of Lewis Mulford III and wife of Parsons Woodruff, was much interested in his spiritual welfare; in 1838 she writes: "Give Charles my love and tell him that I was much gratified to see that he was attending to so many studies, and especially the Bible class. I hope he will be thankful that his parents can give him so good an education, which is the best of gifts." When she was told that he had joined the Presbyterian Church in 1841, and was to be sent to college, she writes: "I think there is a blessing that attended you that your child should be brought out of natural darkness. I hope he will press forward to the prize of the high calling. I feel gratified to have one of my grandchildren a professional character."

She lived until she was eighty-five, and kept constantly in touch with her grandson. He was expected to pay his respects to her on coming and going to college. In 1843 she writes again: "Professor McLean called here during the vacation. I told him I thought Charles would be home-sick, as he never had been away from home. He said if he was he would send him on to spend a few days with us, but as he did not come we concluded he is very well contented."

While my father was in the seminary she writes: "You wish to know what we think of Charles; we are all very much pleased with his visit. He has improved greatly in regard to his diffidence; you will no doubt be pleased to hear

that he asked a blessing at the table with perfect confidence, while Mr. Wood and Mr. Millpaugh were both present."

My father's letters gave detailed accounts of his holidays spent with his aunt, Mrs. Rankin, his uncle, Archibald Woodruff, at whose "establishment in Newark" his grandmother lived after her husband's death, and in New York, at 20 Spring Street, with his aunt, Charity Wood, of whom he was very fond.

VI.

Having been a diligent student at the New Albany high school, the boy of twelve was quite ready for better training than New Albany could afford. Accordingly his education was not interrupted by his entrance on the work of the Newark Academy, already a famous school. Four years sufficed to prepare him for Princeton, as a sophomore at least, and possibly a junior. The summer of 1842 he spent at home, and on October 31 he started for the college, already so dear to him, in company with two friends. From this time onward, for some years, his letters to his mother and other relatives contained many things of general interest. He traveled by boat to Wheeling, thence by stage to Harper's Ferry, Washington, and Baltimore, and thence by train to Philadelphia, and Princeton, which he reached on November 9. The cost of this journey was thirty-three dollars and six cents. The careful accounting is characteristic.

Presenting himself as a candidate for the junior class, he was examined by Vice-President McLean and Professor Topping. They found him, for so high a standing, deficient in the languages, and advised him to enter the sophomore class; but as they did not forbid him trying to join the higher one he concluded so to do, and easily made good all deficiencies. His college bill was a hundred and six dollars and eight cents; this he paid immediately and further bought furniture costing fourteen dollars. He then established himself with his friend, Walter Mann, at No. 20 East College, and was ready for the work and play of college life.

As might be expected from one of his birth and training his first impressions of Princeton relate to its religious character. More than a third of the students, he wrote, are professors of religion, and many others are seriously disposed. The religious restraint cast around them is very great. Beside daily prayers in the chapel there are also nightly prayer-meetings, conducted by some of the faculty and pious students, lectures on Monday evenings, Bible lessons, etc., etc. Within less than three weeks he had himself joined the Philadelphian Society, and had signed a constitution drawn up in the handwriting of James B. Taylor, who, in his own words, was the founder and chief member of the society—a society, it may be remarked in passing, which was the forerunner and almost the parent of all the numerous religious associations of students in American colleges. Further, the students were not permitted to leave the grounds on a Sunday, except by special dispensation.

The routine of his life is graphically described: A little after six in the morning we have what is called a "rouser," a term most significant of its use. It consists of a most melodious concert of bells and horns (one of the latter is blown in each entry of the different colleges) together with the howling of neighboring dogs by way of a symphony. This should effectually rouse most of the students, it would seem; I have slept through it once, notwithstanding. After a half an hour for dressing the college bell rings for prayers. At prayer-hall the roll is called, delinquents marked, a chapter read, and a prayer made by one of the tutors. At eight we go to breakfast. Study hours are nine to eleven, recitation till twelve, and so on for the remainder of the day. The students generally walk after evening prayers till supper, and we have some beautiful walks. Professor McLean's prayer-meeting (comes) immediately after supper, Thursday evenings a lecture at Dr. Rice's church from either himself, Professor McLean or Alexander alternately(?) in the sophomore recitation room, which we of course attend. After prayer-meeting Walter and I trim our study lamp and

seat ourselves by a good grate fire to study. The sermons we have in prayer-hall are of a strange order. It is a difficult thing to please the students, and some of the professors seem to bend their efforts to obviate this difficulty. What would you think of a grave metaphysical discourse (Dr. Hodge of the Seminary) on the "existence of the Deity"? A sermon (Professor Dod) on the best method of study?

Throughout these and all his letters there is constant and tender mention of home affairs, with never ending expressions of affection. His first examination closed on January 28th, 1843. He felt some uneasiness as to gaining distinction in mathematics, and he did not. There is mention of his regular reading of the "Observer" and the "Presbyterian": also of careful study in "Alexander's Evidences" and "Locke's Essay." His time, he found, was almost engrossed by his studies, and by the constant, faithful performance of his religious duties.

A letter of September 2nd, 1843, is very interesting: I have become attached to study, he writes. What in the first place necessity imposed, habit has consented to, and fastened upon me. The natural offspring of this is a thirst after truth. We juniors are now beginning to come in possession of the seniors' peculiar privileges. We have a lecture in the morning (of which we are obliged to take notes, and which we are obliged to transcribe neatly in a large blank-book, together with drawings and illustrations, to be subjected to the supervision of the professor) and in the afternoon a recitation upon it. The last week we had Professor Dod on architecture. He is a splendid lecturer and has, besides his class, an audience of the ladies and gentlemen from out in the town. I have been delighted with the subject, and especially with the method in which he presents it. I do not believe that, in aptness and facility of utterance, there is his equal in the United States. He completely carries you away and makes you feel like another being, even on such a plaything as architecture. Oh, two sermons which I have heard from him this session, I can never forget!

They have sunk into my heart. He is the greatest man that ever came under my personal observation. He has his mind completely under control—can do with it what he pleases, and it is remarkable that he never fails of making his sentences intelligible, is never confused and indistinct in his words, has neither too many nor too few, even when most hurried and dealing with most abstract subjects. He has preciseness of ideas—preciseness of utterance; and complete mastery over his mind to a degree as near to perfection as I can imagine. The wonder is that such a man would be content to be cooped up in the little village of Princeton.

In another letter he thus characterizes Dr. John McLean: "He is all benevolence. He has a soul large enough to take in the whole world; although most severe in his administration of college discipline he has not an enemy among the students. They all go to him as an adviser and friend. He always gives them his private reproof and warning before he proceeds to more rigorous measures. He is a complete exemplification of the Christian, and labors more assiduously and conscientiously than any other member of the faculty for the spiritual good of those who are under his instructions. As to his success in his professorship I cannot speak so favorably, I am really afraid my knowledge of Greek is not very much brightened by my college course."

The industry of the man, and the opportunities for education which he enjoyed in Princeton at that time, are well illustrated by his enumeration of the studies he pursued in and out of college: his class-room work in mathematics included mechanics, analytical geometry, differential and integral calculus, and the contents of Olmsted's text-book of astronomy; in the classics he read the Captivi of Plautus, Juvenal and the Œdipus Tyrannus; and with these he had instruction in the Evidences, and in Locke's Essay, together with lectures on architecture. He had also private lessons in elocution and French. The spring holiday he spent in Newark, where his mother was visiting with her family, and in September he returned to New Albany to pass the autumn

holiday at home. His expenses for the year were three hundred and fifty-three dollars and twelve cents.

The senior year was begun by the purchase of a syllabus of Professor Henry's lectures, Brande's Encyclopedia, Hedge's Logic, and Blair's Rhetoric. The holidays were spent in New York and Newark respectively; he graduated on July 27th, 1844, and returned home by way of Niagara. His expenses for the year were three hundred and eighty-one dollars and fifty-four cents.

The letters he wrote during this period glow with a warm affection for Princeton, and express a high appreciation of the advantages he there enjoyed. They likewise exhibit the heart-searchings of a generous mind and of a manhood devoted to duty, and scanning the future to find its leadings. On the subject of his opportunities in different lines he wrote at various times with keen discrimination. Toward the close of the year he declared: "I can truly say that no portion of my life has been to me so pleasant as that which I have spent at college. The friendships formed there are like no others—they are between equals, all have the same object in view, and the same end to strive after; and, therefore, they are purer and freer from those temptations which an intercourse with the world is likely to produce. In fact, I have never known before what it was to have a real friend and to separate from him. I mean, of course, such a companion as similar tastes and a common interest endear to us. I have really become attached to Princeton. As the days of my sojourn draw to a close, and I recount the pleasant friendships which I have formed, I feel confident I shall leave with regret."

During this year young Shields was managing editor of the Nassau Literary Magazine, and took the Alpha medal for an essay in connection with other literary work in Whig Hall. Chapel exercises were at five in the morning during summer, and he allowed himself but six hours of sleep, such was his untiring zeal in the performance of the many tasks which gave him such a full and fruitful life. In one of his

letters he thus describes his room: "Imagine, then, after having deposited carefully the dirt upon a respectable mat at the door, and having received in response to your knock a couple of simultaneous 'holloas' from within, you step upon a neat carpeted floor—please sit down—I must apologize for the dilapidated appearance of that chair—it lost its rockers and one of its arms one rainy morning in a desperate exigency of kindling-wood—be cautious how you trust yourself in that other one—its limbs are relaxing with the feebleness of old age—however, there is that other remaining one which I can recommend to you as trustworthy. Having given you the necessary precautions for your safety, you may now proceed in your examination with nothing to molest you. You see that double cylinder stove before you. It is a very convenient, economical affair, with its set of dampers to regulate the temperature, only addicted to a curious habit of letting the fire go out once or twice daily. This will lead you readily to account for that hill of short wood you see behind it. In the southeast corner you observe a collection of old umbrellas, bandysticks, old shoes, broom, etc., etc."; and so he runs on for a page or two with his enumeration of collected rubbish.

There were sixty-seven members in the class, and among them were many destined to be famous in after life: James C. Welling, president of Columbian, now George Washington, University in the national capital; the Hon. H. S. Little, of Trenton; Col. Edward A. Wright, of Newark, N. J.; Governor A. H. Colquit, of Georgia; the Rev. Noah H. Schenck, of Brooklyn, and in the seminary Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island. Charles Godfrey Leland, though in the class of 1845, was his warm friend. From the entire number of his classmates about one-third were destined for the Christian ministry, and it was not extraordinary that Shields, with his pious zeal and profound religious nature, should have begun to consider its claim upon him. As early as December, 1844, he became a regular attendant at the exercises of trial preaching in the seminary. The faculty of Princeton

College was composed of men who were not only great, to mention only Henry, founder of the Smithsonian Institute, and James Waddell Alexander, almost the foremost Presbyterian divine of his day, but they were one and all, lay or clerical, men of devout minds. Their influence on young Shields had been, as we have noted, very profound, and but a short distance away in the seminary of the Presbyterian Church were men, Alexanders and Hodges, spiritually akin to the college professors and equally fascinating by their intellectual attainments. Shields expressed in his letters many doubts as to his spiritual strength, earnestly entreating his mother to pray that he might have more holy thoughts, more heavenward aspirations. He had many fits of despondency, and wrote often of disappointments, of temptations, of his unfitness and unworthiness for the high and sacred calling of the ministry. At last, however, his decision was taken and announced. One seems to read between the lines that Dr. McLean influenced him in this, unconsciously to the student; be that as it may, the earlier boyish judgment of the doctor's scholarship was entirely revised, and, though the appearance and manner of the saintly man seemed unfortunate to the youth, he spoke in the highest terms of his professor's learning in a tone utterly different from the first; and this at the time when his judgment was ripe and he was in the midst of choosing his profession for life. His parents were content that their boy should be a clergyman, but they were firm that it must be in the church of his birth, a Presbyterian minister; and that he should pursue his theological studies at home. Although there is evidence that Mr. Shields already considered taking orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, as some of his closest associates at Princeton actually did, yet on that point he did not make a firm stand, so earnest were the representations of his mother; but his arguments for remaining in Princeton during his theological training were so eloquent and convincing that in that respect his parents yielded.

VII.

It was at the end of his senior year that a new college calendar, substantially the one still in use, was adopted and inaugurated. Accordingly, the holiday, after the momentous decision was taken, scarcely afforded more than a breathing space, and it was with some sense of exhaustion that the laborious student entered on what proved to be the most important phase of his education. His routine work proved in itself a very serious task, and for a time he was much depressed over his inability to take it with the cheerful heart which alone goes "all the way" in a responsible and solemn profession; in fact, his health was actually jeopardized and he was compelled to seek recreation and recuperation in a visit to his parents of some length, before the close of the first year. He returned, however, at the opening of the second year in vigorous health, with his mind clear, his faculties alert, and all doubts dispelled. Thereafter there was no interruption in a long course of congenial study; he pursued with ardor, not alone the regular course of study, but the avocation of philosophical research which was destined to become a life work.

Of the distinguished men who taught him he formed the highest opinion; as was indeed inevitable for one endowed as he was with a friendly and appreciative mind. Dr. Alexander's simple talks, he wrote, talks in which he utters great truths with such familiarity and plainness, or Dr. Hodge in one of his convincing doctrinal discourses; there is no such thing as resisting either. Dr. Alexander is plain, simple and precise, having just the qualities and manner necessary to give lucid, common sense views on vexed metaphysical points, and detect the folly of fine-spun theories. Dr. Hodge is logical and comprehensive, just what he ought to be in his branch, to give rigid and correct interpretations of Scripture. Professor Addison (Alexander) I would not attempt to describe; he completely stupefies me every time I hear his talk,

such a stream of words, and so much meaning. He is my model of a Christian scholar.

Upon one of the manuscripts of the young theologian is this remark by the Old Doctor (Alexander) as he was reverendly called: Mr. Shields has a very pleasing, plaintive manner of speaking. In these days when energy and force seem to be so much courted, it is very pleasing to meet with that more winning and soothing style.

In the case of Dr. Shields it is true that the child is the father of the man. He had not fairly entered college before he began to ponder the Wie, Wo, und Wann? of the German poet. But for him the oracle was not entirely dumb; though he heard only in part and in whispers, yet he seemed to catch words and thoughts, alike of weight and import. These he carefully noted and pondered; almost from day to day, certainly from month to month. By the time he was in the Seminary and had secured his full measure of health and vigor, the desire for system took possession of his very soul. Fortunately, the instinct and love for history were well developed in him; the air of the universities was then heavy with what the jargon of the hour styled German "neologism," supposed to be lethal to all Christian faith; and for many weak heads the draught was too strong, so strong that rationalistic intoxication was a common phenomenon. But Shields, with a little knot of friends, had cool heads and an abundance of hard common sense. They thoroughly knew much of what men had already thought, and of how they had behaved in consequence. They determined to know more, and to give all the pressing problems a thorough investigation in the light of human experience. The group consisted of W. A. Lord, W. A. Dod, A. N. Littlejohn, J. C. Welling, and C. W. Shields; they were all notable men, nearly every one became distinguished in after life. Three of these choice spirits the present writer has been privileged to know; their learning and refinement were so noteworthy that they would have been marked men in any land and in any circle.

In connection with these men, therefore, Shields began a thorough and exhaustive examination of the philosophies both of the past and of their own day. The philosophic synthesis of systems which he had formed early in his intellectual life appears to have served him well as a point of departure even in his more exhaustive studies. But he preserved from first to last an open mind; the debates of the little club were continuous during the seminary course, each contributed his share, and the conclusions of each were either consciously or unconsciously modified by the results of the general discussion. Two profound convictions remained in Shields's mind: the unity and continuity of human thought, the unity and continuity of the divine purpose as exhibited in the historic church. These matters he fully explained to his mother, and between the lines of his letters she seemed to read his leaning toward the Episcopal Church. At all events she considered the probability so great as to be, from her point of view, an imminent danger, and with all her weapons, ecclesiastical and personal, she combated the idea in her letters. She was so far successful that her son proposed to spend a year in Germany before entering on the work of the ministry. This course was equally distasteful to his good mother, who seems, from one rather doubtful reference, to have dedicated her son to mission work in the West. In a letter from one of his friends mention is likewise made of another missionary scheme; namely, work in the foreign field. This probably has no further significance than that the conscientious young minister had casually, at least, considered every possibility in the dedication of his life.

The result of all these deliberations was the conviction that he was still too young to enter on the work of the Presbyterian ministry, and that he could spend another year at Princeton with excellent results, both in ripening his mind and in strengthening the foundations of his scholarship. In this decision he had determined the course of his life. No longer attached to the membership of a class or even of a

group, his mind had free course for independent development, and his habits of omnivorous reading were confirmed, were settled into their groove without the support of comradeship. His own feeling throughout later life was that the quiet, detached, reposeful, intellectual life of this year had been fertile almost beyond that of any other. Before it was over he had found his line; and from it he never deviated to the very end. Determined on the practice of his profession, at least for a time, many of the sermons he prepared were of a marked philosophical cast.

During the holiday after leaving Princeton, which he spent at New Albany, he made the acquaintance of Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Bain, of Galway, New York. Later, when he went to spend some time with an aunt in the city of New York, while preaching in various pulpits, the acquaintance was continued and ripened into love. On November 22nd, 1848, they were married in Stamford, Connecticut, by the Reverend John McElroy. The happy life together began in Brooklyn, where, with his wife and her sister, he established himself during the time of his probation, as a supply in various pulpits.

He was an accomplished preacher from the first. Licensed as a candidate on February 2nd, 1847, he chose as his text: "And Enoch walked with God and was not, for God took him." One of his hearers wrote: "The introduction was most beautiful, and the whole sermon was one of exceeding excellence, chaining the attention of the audience throughout." The first pulpit which he supplied was in Philadelphia. The proof of his great power as a preacher came in the form of three calls, almost simultaneously, in 1849. One was from Salem, Massachusetts; one from Hempstead, Long Island, and the third was from the Pearl Street Church of New York. He was in much doubt as to which of the three he should accept. After mature deliberation, in which the question of his wife's health had to be carefully considered, he finally decided for Hempstead. Referring jocularly to his decision, he had decided, he said, on the old

negro's advice: "Go where there is the most devil and the least pay."

He was ordained in November and entered at once on his work at a salary of five hundred dollars a year. His task had been made clear in advance. Writing on the subject, he said: "They wish a minister who will give himself up to a great deal of social visiting. The country portion of the congregation, which forms the greater part, are especially solicitous on this point. They seem to feel that they have hitherto been much neglected, and have signified their desire to the session that it should be stipulated with their new pastor that he should bestow more attention upon them —should go out occasionally and spend the day, etc., etc. They are not a reading people," he wrote in another letter; "there are three men here who own fortunes who can scarcely write their names, and there is not one family or person in the village (as far as I have become acquainted) who is of a congenial taste. I feel this deficiency very much, as I am afraid if I remain here long I shall lapse into neglectful habits of study, preaching, and so forth." It was apparently as a matter of secular education for his people that early in 1850 he delivered a course of public lectures on architecture, modelled on those of Professor Dod, which he had so greatly admired. There is in one of his letters of the time an interesting reminiscence of older customs. The clergymen in attendance at a funeral were provided with certain mourning insignia, among them an ample scarf of linen to be worn over the shoulder. Of these Mr. Shields had so many that they served as a sufficient provision for all the shirts he could wear.

During the summer of 1850 there came a call from the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. This he naturally accepted, and in November he was installed, the charge being delivered by Dr. John McDowell, and the sermon being preached by Dr. H. A. Boardman. This was a very important church, and the young pastor took hold with a will. During the year ending October 1st, 1851, there were

held ninety-four public services, at seventy-three of which the pastor preached. He likewise delivered thirty-six lectures, and during the year twenty pews were rented. To the end of his pastorate his zeal never abated, and he left the active work of preacher and pastor in the full tide of success. Among his leading men were such influential citizens as Charles McAllister, Charles E. Morgan, Judge Joel Jones, and Judge John K. Kane. His friends were men of mark in the community, such clergymen as George and Walter Stewart, Richardson, Brown, Van Rensselaer, Chester, Mann, Cuyler, and Engles, editor of the "Presbyterian." Two of his intimate personal friends were the Hon. Furman Sheppard, and Elisha Kent Kane, then in the height of his renown as an Arctic explorer. Over the remains of the latter, five years later, he preached a funeral sermon of such power as to attract attention from the entire community.

In short, Mr. Shields took his place at once as a great force in the city. This was the more remarkable in view of the conditions then prevailing. As Bishop Henry C. Potter said in his memorial address, delivered after the death of his friend: "I was a boy in Philadelphia at that time, and I can remember how swift we of different communions were to fasten upon one another's failings, and how little love was lost—or found—between us! What was most prized then was a master of polemics—there is little doubt that the orthodox believer, when he looked at his heterodox neighbor, complacently thanked God that he was not as other men were! Does anybody wonder that the sensitive and devout scholar turned from the ministry, in which it was often demanded that the preacher should meet such expectations or be lectured by his deacons—turned, I say, from such a conception of the office of the pulpit to the professor's chair?" For fifteen years the pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church was a faithful servant of his people and of his community, warning, admonishing, edifying, and cheering all who sought his kindly offices.

The life of these years was stimulating in all directions. He found time to indulge himself in extensive reading, and occasionally to write verses of a fugitive sort, which relieved his own emotional nature and gave great pleasure to many discriminating readers. But the serious side of his private study was dedicated throughout the entire period to a continued and careful consideration of the great problems which had absorbed him in earlier years. As early as 1855 he published a thoughtful article on "Presbyterian Polity," and a volume entitled "A Book of Remembrance." The latter is a beautiful allegory of the inner life; it had a wide circulation through the Presbyterian publication board, and ran through several editions. So important were his contributions to philosophy and theology that in 1860 he delivered the annual address at the Princeton Commencement and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In an address delivered long afterward, at the centennial celebration of the American Philosophical Society, he said that he remembered Philadelphia as a city in which his early labors found generous appreciation, to which he became attached by the strongest ties of his life, and which he had ever remembered, as the exiled Greek remembered his *dulcis Argos,* the sweet home of art and letters and refinement.

This sentiment was doubtless awakened as much by recollections of his private as of his public life in that city. During the early years he had lived through the heats of summer in the suburb of Torresdale. There, on August 9th, 1853, his wife died, leaving him a widower with three children still in infancy. For eight years he devoted himself to nourishing and cherishing them with double affection and devotion. During the summer of 1856 he was in Newport, Rhode Island, filling the pulpit of the Congregational church, of which the well-known Dr. Thayer was pastor. He remembered all the simplicity of Newport living as he then saw it; no cottage life, no Ocean Drive, no Bellevue Avenue; just the old town, three large hotels, and many boarding houses. The morning hours were spent in the quiet of the

modest residence, dinner was at three, and the gayety was a drive after that to Fort Adams, or to the "Beaches," and then to the "Glen" for tea. There he first met Miss Elizabeth Kane, of Philadelphia, who was visiting her cousin, General John van Rensselaer. Their acquaintance was destined in time to become a romance, and it was to this meeting that he always attributed his enduring affection for Newport. He did not return until 1877, but the place had still, even heightened charms for him; and it was in the study of a house he built for himself, on a site overlooking Ochre Point, that he wrote many chapters of his Philosophia Ultima.

This friendship led also to the forming of many intimacies in Philadelphia. These are worth enumerating because they greatly influenced the later life of Dr. Shields, affording him the pleasure and stimulus of social and intellectual companionship, which everywhere made him one of the initiated. Fernrock, the country seat of Judge Kane, was the centre of a group, many members of which were destined to eminence in later years. Among them were Miss Lilly Macalister, who, as Mrs. Lawton, held a unique position in Washington society from the days of Buchanan to the second administration of Cleveland; there were the daughters of Fanny Kemble, Sarah and Fanny Butler, the former married to the late Owen J. Wistar, and the latter to the Hon. James Lee, now Dean of Hereford, England; there was Miss Charlotte Wood, wife of the late Vicar of Wakefield, the Reverend Edward Bell; there were also Thomas Hicks, and three medical students, J. Da Costa, S. Weir Mitchell, and John K. Kane, a son of the house; of course, too, there was Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, of the Navy, who returned thither to recuperate from his voyages in the Arctic. It is easy to understand the attractions of such congenial friends to a hard-working pastor, glad to seek relief for a season from the cares of a large city church.

VIII.

In 1861 Dr. Shields published a pamphlet entitled "Philosophia Ultima." It contained a digest of his philosophical studies up to that date. It was an essay, partly historical, partly critical, claiming that eventually there would issue from a complete system of knowledge, which reason and revelation are combining to produce, a final philosophy; in other words, that sooner or later there would be a conclusive harmony of science and religion. This paper was almost a defiance of the orthodox thought of America as it then was, for it had no apologetic motive whatever, though it claimed that the relation of apologetics to philosophy demanded the most careful study from the philosophical point of view. In the view of the Presbyterian Church it was erroneous to make philosophy the arbiter between science and religion; to emphasize the opposition of science and religion was unduly to enlarge the area of apologetics, to introduce an unphilosophic element into philosophy, which at most is but the handmaid of theology. The essence of Dr. Shields's position was that between true religion and true science there could be no conflict, but that between the "crude, unproved hypotheses put forth in the name of science, and the human, fallible dogmas claiming to express the Bible" there was already joined a bitter conflict, and that it was a proper task of philosophy to sit in judgment on the claims of both, but to purge the evidence and establish the facts beneath the claims. On the one hand, the importance and value of certain so-called scientific hypotheses, on the other, the importance and value of certain so-called religious dogmas; from a determination of these would finally issue a harmony of secular and religious thought. Such was the revolutionary position of the manifesto. Of set purpose the proud title was a challenge.

IX.

In order to gain a hearing the challenger must enter the lists; these were already marked and enclosed for the appellant, partly in the existing conditions of thought, partly in the position which Dr. Shields had established in the Philadelphia community, and especially in the esteem which he enjoyed at Princeton. His claim to a professor's chair was manifest. Accordingly the idea engaged the attention of many influential people, and the agitation took form almost immediately. In due time it became evident that his chair must be in philosophy, as far removed from the field of Christian apologetics as was necessary to secure and keep a clear perspective. The ideal situation was manifestly in Princeton College, as his *alma mater* was then popularly styled. When the Presbyterian Church located its chief and oldest seminary at the doors of Princeton College, it did so with the clear intention that the interaction between the two institutions should redound to the advantage of both. Their relations have ever been close and harmonious; yet their chairs have been held by men of the most divergent views, and their policies are for the most part avowedly distinct. It would be no breach in custom for a graduate of both to maintain in the undenominational college what the Calvinistic theology of the seminary might not admit, the more so as Dr. Shields was a convinced and consistent Calvinist himself. By 1865 the matter was arranged, and in that year he was made professor of the harmony of science and revealed religion. This was the first chair of the kind to be established in any American college. Princeton contributed from its meagre funds six hundred dollars, the rest of the salary was provided by subscriptions of friends to the project most of whom were in Philadelphia: later, when the professor inherited a modest fortune, these sums were all scrupulously repaid.

On August 25th, 1861, Dr. Shields had taken to wife his dear friend Miss Elizabeth Kane, whom he had so long ad-

mired and who had been the inspiration for much of his best work. They lived on Rittenhouse Square, and what with the duties of a growing family, increased by social activities incident to a new sphere, life was so full and exacting as to make very difficult, if not impossible, the pursuit of philosophical studies. The endless cares of the pastor weighed heavily upon him, feeling as he did that his period of ministerial work had been faithfully absolved. It was with delight that he hailed his Princeton call, and the vista which it opened of congenial work and study. The last years of his Philadelphia pastorate were, however, not so far absorbed by public duties but that he found time to publish a Presbyterian prayer-book, thus inaugurating in the church of his birth the liturgical movement which has reached the stage set forth by the action of the General Assembly in 1904, approving the report of their committee on the order of common worship. Dr. Shields's book contains a historical statement of the work of the Savoy Conference, in which the language of the English prayer-book was modified to satisfy the scruples of Presbyterians with a view to the unity of an Anglican Catholic church. The body of the book contains all existing historical material for such a manual. While the volume has never attracted general attention, yet several editions have been sold, and it has been a constant reminder of the possibility in the contemporary age of what was contemplated at the outset of modern history. Further, the introduction gave evidence of thoroughness in historical research, and displays a mastery of material in style and form which did not pass unnoticed by historians. He was later to be honored with the burden of historical teaching; which he did not seek and which was far from being congenial to his tastes.

Dr. Shields established himself with his family in a comfortable and conveniently situated cottage, where he dispensed a generous hospitality, spiritual, intellectual, and material, for many years. For some time his income was small; but, such as it was, the gracious presence of his wife

and his own genial personality made his hearthstone a centre of influence from the beginning. There radiated from it a spirit of refinement and culture which made it a power among his colleagues and his students. The first period of his Princeton life was one, however, of some disappointment and much sorrow. As his family grew in numbers and in age, the demands upon his slender resources increased steadily. Much of his work was that for which he was prepared: the writing and delivery of lectures, the chapel preaching, and the general routine of the professor's life, but there was alarming and fatal sickness in his family, and increased expense had to be met by exertions which though remunerative did not advance the cause to which he had devoted himself. As the crown of sorrow, Mrs. Shields died in 1869. Again he found himself in widowed solitude, charged with all the care which little children demand from both their parents.

Always sensitive and retiring, it now seemed as if he must remain a sad and discouraged recluse. For a little time it was such a life that he led. But the well-spring of a higher life was copious and strong within him; as in many similar instances his mind and his books provided balm for his wounded spirit and in renewed study he found a measure of consolation. At last he felt the impulse to original composition, and in the summer of 1870, working day after day, far into the night, he began to set down the ideas he hoped to embody in his first book. Among the younger men who had enjoyed the privilege of some intimacy with Dr. Shields was one who was destined to reach great distinction as a biblical scholar and who is now (1905) a professor in the University of Leipsic, Caspar René Gregory. After months of solitary labor, his older friend called the young scholar to his service; their intimacy grew apace and after the autumn of the year they were much together in the evenings, frequently, too, in the afternoons; and sometimes in the mornings as well. At last Dr. Gregory came to pass long periods of time, weeks together, under his friend's roof.

His account of the author's labors and methods gives a clear insight into the genesis of the volumes, as they grew on Dr. Shields's hands.

With reference to his sources, says Dr. Gregory, I was for some time librarian of the Seminary Library, and I used to search out all kinds of things at first hand for him. An old copy of Petrus Lombardus, the Master of Sentences, sticks in my memory; and philosophers of all kinds, and scientific men in general. So far as I can remember, the longest hunt I had, referred to Galileo; and I scarcely venture now to say what the last point was, save that the aim was to get authentic testimony about his trial; testimony that was not in books. It is quite possible that some note of mine about it is still among Dr. Shields's papers. I went to a then very old and very world-forsaken, I think French, monastery in Baltimore; it seems to me that the priest or the monk whom I there saw was very suspicious, and that I got nothing out of him. I was more successful at Philadelphia, at the Bishop's house near the Cathedral. There I met a priest who, I think, had been the Secretary of the Bishop at the Vatican Council; his name escapes me at this moment; I think of Hauptmann, Hausmann, or Hoffman, but the chances are that it was something very different; he is probably, if still living, a dignitary of the Church, for he was learned, facile, and in favor. He at once entered into the spirit of the thing and, after we had rummaged around for a while, he said that he thought he had seen an account of the trial or some quotations from proceedings at the trial in, I think, an Italian Review. This he found, and a footnote gave just what we were looking for. Dr. Shields was greatly pleased when I got back to Princeton with the notes. That is enough about the sources. Dr. Shields, I always found willing and desirous to get back to and down to the original sources.

Taking then the accessible sources, often, of course, a volume or two of the given author, Dr. Shields wrote with the greatest care an abstract of the opinions of the author,

often several pages long. Such longer summaries he then again reduced to shorter ones, tearing the old ones up. Finally, I objected to his destruction of the preliminary work and he laid these papers away; whether they still exist or not I do not know. From these abstracts he proceeded to the writing of the given chapter in his book. How long he wrote and rewrote and tore up I cannot tell. I kept remonstrating with him and insisting upon it that he must begin to settle the manuscript for the press. I should say that I read everything as he wrote it, or he read it to me. I worked at my own work, then largely philosophy and history, at the window side of his table, a large table, doubtless still at Morven or Newport, while he worked at the room-side of the table, so that we were hours together there. And then we would go to chairs at each side of the little wood fire, where he would read Tennyson or Matthew Arnold, or something else nice, to me, or we discussed heaven and earth, and the rest of creation or non-creation. To go on: at last I said, "This must stop. You must give me the beginning of Volume I, and I shall copy it off and lay it away, and that will be as if it were printed, and you must let it alone and go on with the rest. And so for II, and III." And we did that. How far the process actually went on before I left for Leipsic, on May 9 (sailing May 10), 1873, I cannot now remember. I take it for granted that the most of I, much of II, and a little of III (do not ask me how far I, II, III reach) was done, and of course he was working away on the piles of abstracts for the rest of it. I put the copied-off, quasi-printed, parts into one of the drawers on my side of the table.

As to persons, it should be mentioned that Dr. Welling, when he first came to Princeton, lived at Dr. Shields's and was thus for some time closely with him, talking over and, I think, hearing everything, although I cannot now say just how much he read or heard of the book. Dr. Shields did not have much to do with people in general, although he was, of course, ever friendly to all. Once or twice we called on

John Miller, after he came back to Princeton, for he amused and interested us. He was full of thought, and totally reckless in what he said. Once he appalled us by saying, I think in the presence of his lovely wife, in the midst of a theological argument: "Now, if I should murder my wife——" We knew there was no danger of it, but it was an uncanny way of pointing a position.

These pleasant memories of Professor Gregory suggest the character of his friend, as it was then formed and as it remained substantially to the last. His scholarship was marked by three qualities; it was based on the rock of original research, it was special within limits carefully related to the whole field, it had the clearness which Descartes says is the test of truth. In his friendships he was careful to select those of the strongest individuality, so that the interchange of relations might increase the vital forces of all concerned. Then, as now, Princeton abounded in men of strong purpose and of fearless personality, utterly indifferent to the levelling forces so active in the outer world. The intercourse of such persons with each other results in the sharpening of minds and wits, in the challenge and retort, the feint and guard, which are conducive to chivalric liberty, reciprocity of sympathy, and vigorous execution of tasks. Busy scholars guard their privacy as a sacred thing, and carefully maintain the conventions of life; the hours of leisure are correspondingly free and joyous. The atmosphere thus created was a congenial one for the training of Dr. Shields's natural powers, and he throve in it despite his sorrows and his cares.

Moreover, he was in hearty sympathy with the policy of the university to which he belonged, a policy based on tradition and on the conditions of its means and geographical site. Established in protest against ultra conservatism, it was committed to hearing the other side on all disputed questions; its constitution was founded in the liberal arts and sciences, and to the cultivation of these it was irrevocably committed. Whatever the future had in store, the present

path was clearly defined; in the words of a famous son of Princeton, her scholars were not to be citizens of some petty principality, but freemen in the commonwealth of knowledge. The place itself has been, from the first, a haunt for men of all sections in our federal union; it bred the rebels of 1776 under Witherspoon, it saw Washington's greatest strategic achievement, it saw the recognition of American independence, its vane pointed first South and then North in the Civil War, it had first introduced science into the curriculum of American colleges, in short, both theoretically and historically it stood for liberty without license.

With such aspirations and such a past, the task of development along its chosen course would have been easy for the college, had its resources been adequate to its aspirations; but unfortunately such was not the case, and no member of her faculty could escape the performance of work for which he was known to be capable. The most conspicuous gap in her course of study was the absence of all instruction in secular history, except as it was given incidentally to the instruction in other departments. Dr. McCosh succeeded to the President's chair at the opening of the college year in 1868. He at once inspired all the friends of the university with confidence in his guidance, and delighted them with his shrewd insight into the character of his task. Enthusiasm increased as his projects were realized one after another, and his colleagues were ready for almost any sacrifice. In 1870, therefore, Dr. Shields assumed the work of teaching modern history, the college assuming the whole of his salary. For thirteen years he lectured on European and American civilization, on English constitutional law, on philosophical history, and on social science. So brilliant and thorough was his work, in spite of the energy which it took from his chosen field of labor, that the compulsion to continue for so long was really of his own making. He obtained relief at the last only by sheer will-power, in the determination to sacrifice a portion of his salary that he might devote himself solely to his specialty. For no part of his activities is he

held in more grateful remembrance by his pupils than for the inspiration they received from his large and forcible views of history, and for the enduring impulse he gave to the development of historical studies in Princeton University.

His intellectual discouragements, therefore, were in the main due to his own qualities and abilities. He nevertheless felt them keenly, and was often impatient as time flew by and the field he had surveyed remained untilled. A born and fearless pioneer, it seemed hard that he should not enter on the task of occupying and improving his preëmptions. What was more, he was for long an academic preacher, second to none in eloquence and edification. He held his student audiences spellbound in the college chapel, and visiting strangers thronged to hear him. A number of his most famous and best remembered sermons were printed by request. They remind one of the "Old Doctor's" criticism, when the professor was yet a student. Their tone is distinctively that of the plaintive scholar, who has noted the conditions into which he was born, and holds himself responsible for those in which he lives. They abound in felicitous phrase, in happy illustrations, and in philosophic insight. They console while they instruct, they encourage while they warn, they combine the fire of conviction with the charm of melancholy. To the preparations of these sermons their author gave lavishly of his time and his force, so much, indeed, that in them he cultivated his literary gifts to a higher perfection than in either his lectures or his books. It was his sufficient reward that his hearers were appreciative and grateful. When, after many years of such service, he felt compelled to devote his life to what he regarded as higher duty, it was not without regret that he relinquished the stimulating pleasure of regular ministerial service.

Considering the natural sensitiveness of Dr. Shields, and the circumstances under which he had entered upon his duties in Princeton, it was not strange that he desired to know how he stood in the opinion of his public. On this point he consulted one of his intimate friends, William Baker, the well-

known author of several striking books, among them the novel which not long since absorbed a host of critical readers, "His Majesty Myself." In a letter dated November 11th, 1866, Mr. Baker wrote: "I have only two small statements to make. Whether or not you will think them worth the paper and the time spent in reading this, you must decide. Imprimis, Dr. Duffield accompanied me to this city. In an incidental way he told me that you gave the utmost satisfaction in your chair to all. He was even enthusiastic about your present and future in Princeton. Since coming here I have heard that Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, has been speaking of your course in a manner most flattering to yourself. This I have direct. Moral: Do not be so sensitive. You are too self-conscious, too introspective. Forget your own existence. Be so absorbed in, say, the culture of—even turnips, if nothing else—the youth about you, as to have only a traditional memory of yourself. I believe if one could know and care as little for one's self as a tulip does, or a nightingale, one would be that much the more fragrant and melodious for it. What a sage I am, am I not?" The recipient of this letter profited much from it; for it looks at present as if he might have kept it by him for a time. At all events, he eventually acquired, as was just, the well earned self-confidence without which men are after all broken reeds.

The high esteem and affection which was expressed to Mr. Baker by Dr. Duffield, of the college, and Dr. Hodge, of the seminary, in their utterances of consideration for Dr. Shields were universal with all his colleagues in both institutions. He easily attained to respect and popularity, and his eminence was never disputed. Possibly the degree of confidence which his associates placed in him was most clearly expressed in the fact that throughout his long connection with Princeton, they regarded him as the one man best fitted for the most difficult of tasks, the preparation of the record to be spread on their minutes concerning the character and services of those who by death or resignation were taken from the service of the college. In him they recog-

nized the typical Princetonian, steeped in the college history and feeling, endowed with a splendid gift of expression and able to gauge the proportionate value of services rendered, as no other could. Besides, his human sympathy, tempered by disciplined emotions, would, as it did, surely result in a fine literary cast to such a record. The many such estimates from his pen are alike adequate and beautiful. Were the old fashion of elaborate epitaphs still in vogue, these polished and terse characterizations would well commemorate virtue and gladden the hearts of posterity. It is a misfortune that they must ever remain inaccessible to all but the antiquary.

X.

With the revolving years the home of Dr. Shields became a centre of social importance, which afforded the highest and purest pleasure to his neighbors and to strangers alike. In his oldest daughter, as she grew to woman's estate, he had a helper and companion abundantly fit to preside at his hospitable table and welcome his guests to a well-ordered house. The students and other young visitors made life cheerful and gay. Into their amusements the head of the family threw himself with zest; for one of their most important enterprises he made a dramatic version of Tennyson's "Princess," carefully studied with reference to the exigencies of the amateur stage. It was duly acted by his children and their friends under his careful management, and with such success that he was persuaded to publish it in a little volume which has been of use to many similar companies of young folk. These, and like recreations of an elevating character, gave a distinguished quality to the household. Miss Shields deserves more than a passing mention. She was her father's support, and a mother to his children; a woman of most uncommon parts, of brilliant attainments and trenchant wit; her company was eagerly sought by her equals in age and by her elders; children were her adoring friends. After her marriage she presided over her husband's home as she had

over that of her father, and "Springdale" was a centre of influence quite as important as her father's house; after her grandfather's death, Dr. Shields came into his comfortable inheritance, and made his home with her until her untimely death. Her memory is still green with those who were young in Princeton during her mature life; and men now verging over the term of middle life pay hearty tribute to the power for good which she exercised over those who were favored with her friendship.

When her younger sister became Mrs. Stockton, it was possible for Dr. Shields to purchase "Morven," the ancient seat of her husband's family, and there in the companionship of his children and grandchildren, he spent the remaining years of his life. In this acquisition Dr. Shields took the most intense delight. He wrote of it that it had been the joy of Richard Stockton, scholar and statesman, who had been a student at Elizabeth, where he met Annis Boudinot, daughter of Elias, president of the first congress. As Mrs. Stockton she came to the ancestral home in Princeton, and fixed upon it the poetic name of "Morven," taken from the scene of Ossian's poems. As a manorial estate it originated in a grant from William Penn to an earlier Richard Stockton, in 1701, of a tract of five thousand five hundred acres, embracing the present grounds of the university and the village of Princeton. Nor was it a matter of little interest to him and to many others, that by a coincidence, after a lapse of a hundred and thirty years, branches of the Stockton and Woodruff families, so closely associated in colonial times, should so long after be connected by marriage, and come into possession of the Morven mansion at a juncture when otherwise that family seat would have passed out of a succession in which it had been maintained for two centuries. Within its walls on the due month and day occurred a notable celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the grant. There were gathered for the festival many descendants of both stocks, and the present holders of lands whose title rests in the grant. The ceremonial was that of the far-off olden

time, as were the costumes; the arrangements, carefully studied by Dr. Shields in anticipation of the event, and with reference to the background of his historic house, were admirably carried out in all particulars, and impressed those present with the dignity of their heritage, and with its accompanying responsibilities, exactly as he had desired. The place is as famous by its later associations as by its origin, and its owner looked upon its possession as a public trust. To all visitors on the high festivals of town and gown alike, its doors were open for inspection; and very often in lavish hospitality.

Reference has already been made to the tender associations which endeared Newport to Dr. Shields; among his first cares after his succession to his inheritance was the purchase of a field on the then sparsely settled Ochre Point. There he built a cottage after his own ideas, and he furnished it in the exercise of his chastened and exquisite taste. From 1877 onward Newport was his summer home, except for a single year, the holidays of which were spent in a European tour, which gave him the greatest possible pleasure. His visitors at Newport found him one of a select circle of literary and other friends, no member of which was more sought after than himself. In the companionship of eminent men and women he found refreshment and strength; as has been said, in the quiet of his study on Ochre Point much of his profoundest thinking and best writing was done. One of his activities was his connection with the "Town and Country Club"; of it Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was the president and he was the vice-president. Its membership is in all respects remarkable, comprising the keen minds of many sections of the country, and its proceedings afforded to Dr. Shields a valuable stimulus; the honor it paid him is sufficient evidence of what he did for it. These and his Princeton associations in winter were the sources from which he renewed his perennial youth. He was in the full enjoyment of all the activities which rendered his life so rich and varied, when death overtook him at Newport during his eightieth

year, on August 26th, 1904. He literally "fell on sleep"; in a moment, without pain or warning, he was unconscious, and in that state he departed this life.

XI.

Dr. Shields died in the communion and orders of the Episcopal Church. The circumstances under which he changed his denominational connection were as characteristic as any other events of his life. Not far from Morven stands the Princeton Inn, a hostelry founded and managed by graduates of the college in order that students and their friends, graduates and their families, may enjoy the amenities of life in quiet comfort. This purpose appealed to the master of Morven in every way, as elevating the social life of the undergraduates, inviting the friends of both the institutions to lengthened sojourn, and bringing strangers to visit with leisure the historic sights of the town and surrounding country. Devoted to the cause of true temperance, he did not hesitate to sign the application for license required of hotels by the law of the State, and followed the example in so doing of other neighbors, men of the first position in the country and the community. For some years this fact, as was to be expected, attracted no attention whatever. But when one of the surges of intemperate agitation against temperance, in favor of total abstinence, which arise from time to time, lifted its crest in all the Eastern college towns, it broke also over Princeton. The crusaders attacked Dr. Shields as a Presbyterian minister, and sought to accumulate capital at his expense. Their influence reached far, and appeared in the sessions of the Presbytery to which he belonged. It finally became clear that a very delicate and embarrassing issue was to be joined. His first and natural impulse was to meet it without compromise and stand on the ground of personal liberty, which has always been that of his church and of his own. He was little disturbed by the abuse and vilification of fanaticism, and was quite ready to try con-

clusions with his opponents. In time, however, he had a change of conviction. It appeared that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church had advised against the endorsement of a license as a reprehensible complicity with the liquor traffic; just as it had characterized card-playing, theatre-going, and dancing as "unscriptural, immoral, and improper"; and while the modifying circumstances of the Princeton Inn might well have given him a firm standing for the defence of private judgment, yet it was possible that a long and protracted struggle might ensue. From this he shrank, partly because of sensitiveness, partly because he did not wish to involve his friends in troublesome litigations in the church courts, while above all he desired to avoid the scandal of Christian brethren infringing the apostolic injunction against the judgment of another man's servant. He determined, therefore, to withdraw from the ministry of his ancestral church, and avoid the embarrassment it might cause to its many members who did not see eye to eye with him.

But whither should he go? He felt bound to examine himself thoroughly, and weigh the claims of all the reformed churches; this he did earnestly and deliberately. The decision which he reached might have been foreseen; as indeed it was, by many of his intimate friends. Among the many elements within the fold of the Presbyterian Church in America there has always been one, which was essentially Scotch in its attitude toward Presbyterian ordination, holding their own orders to be as apostolic as any others. They have also stood firmly on the historic ground of reform as opposed to protest and schism. These are they who, when separated from the ministrations of their own church, naturally gravitate toward the one other communion of Protestants which maintains a similar position. A divine-right Presbyterian stands closer to the Episcopal Church than to any other branch of the Teutonic church. These matters were always, as we have seen, close to the heart of Dr. Shields; and further, his belief in liturgical worship had now

brought him to the conviction that all eclecticism in that regard was vain, that the reunion of Protestant Christendom could better be accomplished on the basis of the Book of Common Prayer than on any other. It was certain, therefore, that his decision would fall as it did. Moreover, among the clergy of the Episcopal Church he had many, many personal friends, and there, as he felt, was held the orthodox view of temperance; the scriptural view, antagonistic to that which criticised the conduct of the Son of Man and which "was invading His church, and defacing His sacrament." On December 14th, 1898, he received the first orders of the Episcopal Church from Bishop Scarborough, of New Jersey, in the chapel of the Good Shepherd, in the city of New York. On May 28th, 1899, he was further ordained to the full ministry of that communion in Garden City Cathedral by Bishop Littlejohn, of the Diocese of Long Island, his lifelong friend and comrade. Not long afterward he was elected a trustee of the General Theological Seminary in New York. Before that institution he delivered the Bishop Paddock lectures on the "Evidences of Christianity," which form a part of the following volume. His services as a preacher were in frequent requisition in the pulpit of Trinity Church, Princeton, and elsewhere. From Trinity Church, in Princeton, he was buried, and from its pulpit Bishop Potter, of New York, preached an eloquent discourse in memory of one whose highest ideals were unity of the faith and unity of the church of God upon earth.

May we suppose, said the Bishop, that it cost Dr. Shields no pang to sunder ties and end companionships which, in their origin, reached back for generations, and were as truly a part of his mental and emotional identity as anything can be? There were men whom he met every day, who loved and honored him—as who that really knew him could help doing?—and who had no smallest doubt as to the honesty of his motives, or the integrity of his action, in any step that separated him from his earlier associates; but who could never forget that a certain action had been determined

upon by him, and that a certain step had been taken. When these men met him, with whatever continuance of the old warmth and cordiality, they knew and he knew, that there was one group of subjects that were to be avoided, and one realm of discussion even the outer portals of which were never any more to be opened! And yet, continued the Bishop, with what gentle dignity and gracious self-restraint, through it all, he bore himself! Yes, and with what true nobility of largeness and charity did this ancient University bear herself toward him! One can easily imagine, on the part of associates and authorities from whom he separated, something of resentment, because of action on Dr. Shields's part, which some of them thought inconsistent, if not positively disloyal. But if they ever thought so, they never said so; or if they said so, they said it with such cautious reserve that it never came to outside ears. And I must confess, for myself, that there has always seemed something especially dear and beautiful in the fact that, with Princeton, its social and its intellectual life; and best of all, with that great University in which so long he was a professor—that with all these he remained identified to the last! Long may his memory survive here as that of a true scholar, a pure and most lovable man, who brought to great opportunities great gifts, and who used them, with unwearied fidelity, for God and man!

These appreciative words are strictly and literally true. The attitude of the university continued in the end what it had been in the beginning, what it has ever been in like instances, sympathetic to every man who sincerely seeks the truth of faith and conduct in the light given to him. For example, Dr. Patton, President during fourteen years of Dr. Shields's professorship, was the most outspoken critic of his colleague's work in philosophy, the fearless champion of the orthodoxy as held in the Princeton Seminary. His was the only criticism which ever moved Dr. Shields from the even tenor of his studies, and induced him to defend his positions. Yet in the minute which he prepared for the fac-

ulty on the resignation of Dr. Patton, he did not miss a single one of the great milestones which had characterized the passing administration; its growth in material and intellectual equipment, the maturity which it had reached in academic development, the new spirit of research, and the educational method by which it had been marked. To his rare logical skill, acumen, and familiarity with living issues, there is also a sincere tribute. In turn Dr. Patton has put on record the esteem in which he held Dr. Shields, and the position he had taken. I have no reason to believe, he said in the "Princeton Bulletin," that when he (Dr. Shields) took orders in the Episcopal Church his views respecting the validity of his own Presbyterian ordination had undergone a change; and I am confident that his Calvinistic theology underwent no revision, either before or after he left the Presbyterian ministry. To those who knew the circumstances it was not strange that Dr. Shields, so late in life, entered the ministry of another church; and to those of us who knew, and loved, and trusted him, his change of denominational relations made no difference in our sense of fellowship with him. He was to us the same genial, gentle, lovable, refined, and scholarly Dr. Shields that he had always been; and we were only sorry that the roll of ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church had been enriched through our loss of a name that had long adorned our own. These words of one who is now the president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, are a fitting pendant to those of Bishop Potter.

John Calvin was indeed one of Dr. Shields's heroes. The aspersions cast upon the great reformer, he regarded with contempt and disgust; in 1893 he published a monograph, recondite in its learning and fiercely polemic in its argument, which spurns the accusation that Calvin burned Servetus. No one has yet risen to refute it. So strongly had the theme taken hold of the writer's imagination that he saw the dramatic qualities of it in a clear light, and as an avocation he composed a drama entitled, "The Reformer of Geneva,"

which was published and widely read. Charles Dudley Warner, Laurence Hutton, Weir Mitchell, Henry M. Baird, and other experts like them wrote of it in unstinted praise; newspapers like the Philadelphia *Press,* the *Christian World,* of London, and the New York *Evening Post,* reviewed it sympathetically. Perhaps the highest tribute came from Professor Dowden, the famous British critic. He wrote: It seems as if a few hours were too short a time to allow of real acquaintance with so large an output of mind. But I have read it all with eager interest, and with close attention—breaking off last night and resuming my reading at five this morning. It is a piece of history lifted into drama with, I am sure, remarkable fidelity, and certainly with remarkable vividness. All the characters live, and the action does not flag or falter. There is rare strength and dignity, with a touch of hidden tenderness and pathos, in Calvin; and I can well believe your Servetus to be the real Servetus. The love of La Fontaine and your creation, Idelette—a nest in the storm and rocking trees—is a strenuous love, and it is duly subordinated to the tragic interests. I seem to understand the life of Geneva better than I ever did before, and I thank you for a possession of enduring value.

XII.

This, with the other appreciations of Dr. Shields's work in preaching, in teaching, and in literature, have been given, lest the reader might think of him as a mere dilettante in all these lines of work, so versatile was his genius and so varied his avocations. The evidence adduced, to which much might be added, is quite sufficient to prove the contrary. Nevertheless, in this age of high specialization, the wide scope of Dr. Shields's interests and activities had something to do with the interest taken in that which was his life work. Too many concluded, on insufficient grounds, that no man could do the basic and thorough work which he aimed to do, when his energies were so engaged elsewhere. The

day of the polymath had gone, and finite powers must be content with knowing little about many things if they were to grasp much about anything. Such a view, widely prevalent, is the worst heresy of our times, and is the force which has debased our intellectual standards to a level on which charlatanism thrives. No high standard of either knowledge, judgment, or expression is possible unless set by men of extensive learning, and intensive study within a broad field. Moreover, professional and technical investigation, the results of the highest specializations, are themselves legitimate subjects of examination. No scholar is in greater danger than he who confines himself exclusively to work within narrow bounds; and just such men suddenly, in the natural and overmastering desire for generalization, are they who proceed to establish great principles on insufficient data. The best antidote for such rashness is in exactly the line of work which Dr. Shields essayed to do, and in just the equipment which he sought to provide for the comparative method as applied to determining the order and value of the sciences, human and natural. To judge him the court must be at least as well trained in the principles of a transcendental and metaphysical philosophy as he was. So far is this true that it would be almost impossible to draw a jury of such sufficient intelligence as to fit it for trying the case. In his field of inquiry Dr. Shields found that, often, if not always, it had been necessary to exchange the advocate for the judge. Men like Locke, Descartes, Leibnitz, Berkeley, and above all, Butler, were quite as much philosophers as apologetes if not more so; and did not hesitate to sit in judgment on the case which they themselves presented. If Dr. Shields found himself compelled at times to a similar course, his capacity for umpirage was due to the broad sympathies, the extensive learning, and the inclusive experience of life, the phases of which have been indicated if not described.

The passion for systematized knowledge is as old as civilization, and the effort to unify science began with Plato. From his day to this the list of writers who have attempted a

classification of the sciences is unbroken. The pamphlet entitled "The Order of the Sciences," which Dr. Shields published in 1882, was the first essay made in America to deal with the question. Had the author but lived a year longer he would have had the gratification of reading in Professor Robert Flint's history of the subject an appreciative tribute to the work. Dr. Flint had evidently not seen the later modifications of the "Order," and the changes made in the theory of their development, which was published in various journals, and are now given in the author's final revision, partly in this volume and chiefly in the preceding one. Nevertheless, in Dr. Flint's exhaustive treatise Dr. Shields is first among the American names; and to his somewhat embryonic outline the most respectful consideration is given, accompanied by high praise. What is even more striking is the fact that the definition of philosophy as "scientia scientiarum," a definition much disputed by Dr. Shields's American critics, is adopted by the learned Scotchman as a matter of course, a definition requiring no defence.

In Flint's judgment, the treatise, small and merely introductory as it is, ranks among the best; and he declares that while its exhibition of the scheme of scientific distribution is clear and skilful, its criticism of other classifications is also discriminating and incisive. In the order of time and the estimate of capable critics, as well as by the further elaboration of his subject, Dr. Shields appears to be the Nestor and founder of this department of philosophy in our country. Of course, Flint and Shields, alike in accepting "scientia scientiarum" as a definition of philosophy, are also alike in confining that definition to theoretical philosophy, "as a scheme of the sciences, as an inquiry into the nature and limits of knowledge, and as a doctrine of being and becoming —or, in other words, philosophy as positive, critical, and metaphysical." Both were well aware that this, while the most of philosophy, is not the whole of it; that "practical applicability is a necessary consequence of theoretical accuracy." The quotations are from the former of the two

authors, but the latter has in his second volume, and in conversation, repeatedly said the same thing. Indeed, had Dr. Flint ever seen Dr. Shields's second volume, he would have recognized a close kinship of mind with the earlier writer. Neither would surrender an inch of the territory won by sound theory to the pragmatic meddlers who, in their assumptions, discard not merely the relations of the sciences, but even the conditions of knowledge and the very nature of both existence and causation, as immaterial to the concept of a universe and its order. Difficulties must needs arise, and they can never be composed either by observation or by analysis; there must be a synthesis, and it can never be reached by apathy and neglect.

The great task which the author set for himself early in life was completed in his old age when he had prepared the following pages for the press. It had not occurred to him to preface their publication by any apology for the book; his work was no longer tentative, and had received the encomiums of so many able critics on the continent of Europe, in Great Britain, and at home, that he might justly feel his place to be assured. Moreover, he was a man of apostolic temper, clear as to his theme and its bearing, faithful in the performance of a plain duty which had been revealed to him in the most searching self-examination. Not given to polemics, he was nevertheless a master in attack and argument, fond of the fray, and the last to leave the field. To the three volumes of the "Final Philosophy" he gave the best of his life, and by their contents he wished to be judged. It is not likely that posthumous opinion, any more than that of his contemporaries, will go to the extreme of honeyed panegyric. His subject is too abstruse and recondite for any general agreement thereon to be easily reached; but that he will be gratefully regarded as an able surveyor in the field, and that he will be felt to have established many important principles of procedure, seems certain to the present writer. His claim to remembrance in the United States as a pioneer is undoubted; and furthermore, even those who

cannot accept his main thesis are sure to appreciate the incidental value of an erudition marked by sympathy, richness, and a cosmic scope.

This memoir is not the place in which to detail either the praise or the blame, the assent or dissent, with which his most important work has been received. In fact, until now the work has been incomplete, and with this volume it is for the first time before the public in its entirety. There may, in consequence, be some revision of opinion; if so the object of this brief memoir will have been secured, provided the chosen few, who alone can appreciate and judge the life work of Dr. Shields, derive from it any information likely to elucidate the spirit in which he began and finished his task.

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